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The Issue of the November Election.

AN ADDRESS TO YOUNG MEN:

BY WILLIAM T. COGGESHALL,
OHIO STATE LIBRARIAN.

Delivered before the Wide-Awakes of Tiffin, Ohio, Oct. 18, 1860.

A LARGE number of young men, in all of our Northern States will, on the 6th day of November, 1860, for the first time cast their ballots for President and Vice-President of the United States, thus exercising the highest responsibility of a citizen enjoying the choicest privilege of a freeman, and discharging the most important duty of a voter.

They are the men whom I would this evening address.

To vote is a duty which no good citizen will willingly fail to discharge, whether there may be a majority of five or of fifty thousand for, or against his ballot; and every good citizen will understand thoroughly the effect of the vote which he casts.

I stand here to endeavor to show the men whose political careers lie in the future, what is the pivotal issue of this campaign, and to invite them to cast the ballots they control, for the principles best calculated to restore to our Federal Government the justness and faithfulness which characterized it in the early days of the Republic, and best calculated to secure the highest good to the greatest number of the American people.

I need not attempt to discuss collateral questions. My purpose does not require me to unfold the history of the origin and extension of slavery in America. I am not called upon to discuss questions pertaining to revenues, nor to present statistics for internal improvements.

Relying upon a dispassionate and trustworthy statement of facts and doctrines which current history substantiates, I speak from the present for the future. I hope, not from mere party bias—I know, not from partisan prejudice. I rely on principles and their practical application.

Adherence to justly grounded and well defined principles, is the vital safeguard of permanent prosperity, alike, for the individual, for the community, and for the state; and such adherence is none the less essential for a political than it is for any other organization.

The lessons of history are clear on this proposition. Those lessons are found not always in events significant when they transpired, but often in what were regarded as minor affairs.

Antiquarians have traced, in fragments of the most fragile of the productions of man's handicraft, long buried in shifting sands, not only important facts illustrating the domestic characteristics of non-existing nations, but facts which threw light upon the causes of their decline and fall.

Doctrines and practices adopted and exercised by working politicians, for temporary gain, in secret places, unheeded as soon as they are employed, are competent to teach the philosophic inquirer why the administration of a republican government is distinguished for partisan favoritism and for extravagant peculation; why the prominent features of State and National Nominating Conventions are profanity and pugilism, disorder and deception, provoking honest delegates, in bitterness of heart, to exclaim, "What a piece of work is a demagogue—how villainous in conception—how deformed in all his propensities—how base

to those who know he is unfit for office—how servile to those whom he can cajole!"

Political parties succeeding the national administration which begins on the 4th of March next, may be what the young men of 1860 choose to make them. Demanding fealty to principles, and watchful vigilance against abuse of what is good principle, for narrow purposes and selfish ends, I appeal to every young man who respects the natural rights of his neighbor, and is not ashamed of the wholesome social law which makes honest occupation a necessity of trustworthy standing in the community, for cordial co-operation with the Republican party.

What are its principles?

- That the Union of the States shall be inviolate.
- That the right of each State to order and control its domestic institutions is essential to the permanency of our political fabric.
- That involuntary servitude is a cruel wrong to the servant, and is demoralizing to the master; that it is incompatible with industrial interests; opposed to the dissemination of intelligence, and promotive of vice and crime, therefore, that it ought to be directly subservient to the restrictions of the Federal Constitution.
- That the encouragement of free labor; the protection of home industry; shall be required of the Federal Government whenever and wherever that government can legitimately exercise power for such purpose.

These I take to be the principles upon which all Republicans are agreed, and which involve all the issues of the pending election. Justly discriminating tariffs, appropriate river and harbor improvements, homestead laws, Pacific railroads, economy of administration, depend upon and will grow out of their general adoption.

Opposed to these principles are all parties and all citizens who do not act for them.

No well informed man who is not the servant of party

organization, or the slave of partisan prejudice, can fail to recognize in the contest of opinions now waging, antagonisms which are as old as pride and poverty—as old as indolence and industry—involving popular endorsement or repudiation of the counsels and examples of the Fathers of the Republic; counsels and examples which would commit the National Government to the protection of educated free labor—to the support of profitable manufactures—to the interests of skilled agriculture—opening rivers and lakes for prosperous navigation—filling growing towns and opulent cities with varied sounds of industry—making all men workers and every worker a citizen; counsels and examples squarely opposed to doctrines, by violent presumption now called “Democratic,” which promise that the National Government shall promote the extension of a system which enslaves the husbandman and makes the mechanic a chattel—degrading industry—disparaging invention; a system which, in fear of itself, declares that truth shall not be free to combat error, and, to enforce this despotic law, forbids free discussion, violates the public mails, burns independent newspapers, and imprisons schoolmasters.

I do not misrepresent.

I challenge investigation, in a true spirit, of the recorded sentiments of the venerated men who knew what public opinion was in the American colonies; who directed the bold deeds which abolished English power in those colonies; who dictated the articles of confederation; who made the Federal Constitution, and who inaugurated the government under it.

I confidently refer every honest enquirer to the Cincinnati platform of the Democratic party, and its addenda adopted in either branch of that party, as it divided at Baltimore in June last, and demand whether the legitimate result of the triumph of that platform in 1860, will not be, as the result of its triumph in 1856 has been, the prostitu-

tion of the influence, authority and money of the Federal Government to open disregard and culpable neglect of intelligent industry, for the secret encouragement of those who strive to extend and perpetuate African bondage?

The essential power of the Republican party is in the fact that, in all its brief history, it has been true to the interests which demanded its organization. What were those interests? Free Labor—Free Soil—and Free Speech, and the vital privileges in which they are preserved.

Until 1848 the great parties of our nation, the Whig and Democratic, were without strife respecting the direct questions now agitating the American people; but, far-seeing Southern statesmen, by persistent, watchful opposition to the protective tariff policy of the Whigs—to the distribution of public lands to actual settlers—to river and harbor improvements (opposition embodied in Democratic platforms, and accepted by Northern politicians for peace in the party and for place in the government), prepared the way for the Compromises of 1850, for the Kansas and Nebraska Act of 1854, for the Dred Scott decision, and for the threats of disunion openly expressed in 1856, and repeated now defiantly.

Valiant and chivalric threats! Equal and exact justice will prevent their execution. The child which has learned that bugaboo in the closet is a myth for the preservation of sweetmeats, laughs the monster to scorn. It certainly will be hard for Southern politicians to surrender the pleasant places, at home and abroad, which they have almost monopolized, but even on the principle that turn about is fair play, it is not less right than hard.

Attempting to harmonize elements in irrepressible conflict, the Whig party died hopelessly. The Democratic party with dexterous management in promises on the one side, and with profitable encouragement in the distribution of offices on the other, which made it serviceable to Southern statesmen, kept its identity until the Convention at

Charleston exposed the long resisted fact, that without unqualified endorsement of Southern "Rights," involving the acknowledgment of domestic slavery, not only as a constitutional privilege, but right and expedient in itself, that party could no longer hold the votes for which it had sacrificed power in the North. It was openly avowed, indeed tempestuously declaimed, both in the Convention at Charleston and in its successor at Baltimore, that without adherence to Southern Rights, as Southern men understood Southern Rights, the Democratic candidates could not depend upon a single Southern State; and that two tickets came out of the confusion at Baltimore, is the best illustration yet exhibited in the history of political parties, that though politicians may manage, and candidates may promise, the people elect—the people who by sad experience know that candidates upon "National" Democratic platforms, by juggling with deceitful phrases, may be expected to give ingenious illustrations of a fable the Arabs have respecting the ostrich, which they call the camel-bird.

And they said to the camel-bird, 'Carry,' and it answered, 'I cannot, I am a bird.'

And they said to the camel-bird, 'Fly,' and it answered, 'I cannot, I am a camel.'

The seceders at Charleston represented distinctly the claims which have made Southern States Democratic States—which have made Southern Representatives in Congress, and Senators from Southern States, Democratic Senators and Representatives. Their declarations of purpose were in exact harmony with declarations of purpose in Congress; with demands persistently urged in the halls of national legislation—demands contemplating the nationalization of human bondage—of African Slavery.

Congress being the direct exponent of the nation's legislative will, endorsement of or adoption by Congress of any measure or policy commits the nation. Southern men with shrewd precognition of the legitimate effects of un-

trammelled industry, have striven for Congressional endorsement of their property right in human labor under State statutes, because without that endorsement, Slavery is necessarily local, sectional, subject to disturbing causes; with that endorsement Freedom is local—Freedom is sectional. That is why the Missouri Compromise was repealed—why squatter sovereignty has had significance—why outrage and fraud were perpetrated in Kansas—why control of other Territories is struggled for with denunciations, with sophistries and with threats—why Cuba is coveted.

If the balance of political power is to be maintained for Slavery, representation for Congress, and for the Electoral College on that which is claimed to be property (making five slaves who have no votes as good as three citizens of a free State), must be extended beyond the fifteen States in which it now crushes out social and political independence.

That is why the Dred Scott decision was clung to at Charleston, and why it was not disregarded at Baltimore.

Slavery once established in a Territory, and the State which grows out of it is doomed, because political power will be vested only in slaveholders. Free discussion will be put down by mobs. Interest in the “domestic concerns of the State,” by actual ownership in slaves, will be the test of fitness for every place of influence or emolument.

What then is the pivotal issue of the November election, the issue on which all the interests at stake in it turn?

I state it deliberately, as it appears to me, not from partisan prejudice, but from convictions of the truth of history, and from my understanding of platforms.

—Whether the patronage of the Federal Government shall be employed for the enlargement of the political power of a system of servitude, necessarily antagonistic to the well-being of all who depend upon honest industry for their own support, and for the support and education of their families; or, whether the Federal Government shall

permit the natural development of principles essential to the preservation of those privileges and advantages which guarantee equal and exact justice to individuals, and enhance the true greatness of the Commonwealth—privileges, indeed, in the full freedom of which common weal is alone possible.

Standing “in the heart of an anti-slavery audience,” at Indianapolis, Indiana, Herschel V. Johnson, one of the candidates for the Vice-Presidency, appealing personally to the American people for their suffrages at the November election, said :

“I would let my tongue be palsied before I would surrender one jot or tittle of the rights of the South. We must look to it; you must begin with your constables, and go up to your chief magistracy, and plant your foot on every man’s neck who dares to say he will interfere with slavery anywhere.”

That these sentiments, these generous views of Southern rights and Northern duties, represent a majority of the votes that will be cast against the Republican platform and its candidates, the speeches of Southern Congressmen, the messages of Southern Governors, the resolutions of Southern Conventions, the acts of Southern Legislatures, the violences of Southern mobs, the melancholy history of the shattered and dissevered—once unterrified—Democratic party, sufficiently attest; and, thereby, it is made so plain, the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not mistake it, that the rugged question to be settled ultimately, between Republican principles, and the doctrines which the Slave-power forces upon the Democratic party, is not whether negroes have no rights which white men are bound to respect, but whether those whose interests are in Freedom have any rights which those whose interests are in Slavery are bound to respect; indeed, whether genuine democracy has rights which privileged aristocracy cannot with impunity and at caprice tread upon.

The day of concessions and compromises for temporary peace is past, North as well as South. Compromises have

been like the gentle breath which fans a spark into a devouring flame. Either now, by one vigorous blast, the people blow out that flame, or they permit it to be fanned into a conflagration which will consume all the national guarantees by which free labor is protected.

The triumphs of Despotism come through diplomacy. The conquests of Freedom from the expression of the popular will.

It is a great fact illustrating genuine popular sovereignty, in a comprehensive and noble sense, that the ballots of November are to be regarded as expressing the people's exposition of the Federal Constitution. Every voter should recognize in all its bearings the weight of this fact.

Does any man doubt that it is a fact?

It will not be disputed that an honest Administration will be true to the political doctrines for which the people expressed their preference when they elected its Executive.

One of the platforms before the people now is like the character the Chinese worship for the Supreme Being, without body or soul; one of the others bears just that resemblance to its confederate which the donkey, in the fable, wearing a lion's skin, did to other donkeys.

Let us take off that lion's skin and see what is under it.

John C. Breckinridge, in his letter accepting the nomination and platform made for him at Baltimore, said :

"Nothing less than sovereignty can destroy or impair the rights of persons or property. The territorial governments are subordinate and temporary, and not sovereign; hence, they cannot destroy or impair the rights of persons or property. While they continue to be Territories, they are under the control of Congress; but the Constitution nowhere confers on any branch of the Federal Government the power to discriminate against the rights of the States, or the property of their citizens in the Territories. It follows, that the citizens of all the States may enter the Territories of the Union, with their property of whatever kind, and enjoy it, during the territorial condition, without let or hindrance either by Congress or by the subordinate Territorial Governments. * * The friends of constitutional equality assert the plain duty of the Federal Govern-

ment, in all its departments, to secure, when necessary, to the citizens of all States the enjoyment of their property in the common Territories, as everywhere else within its jurisdiction."

Mr. Breckinridge's position is clear. No one need be deceived by it. No one will deny that he gives a fair exposition of the Breckinridge platform.

Stephen A. Douglas will be accepted as a fair exponent of the platform on which he was nominated.

At the city of New Orleans, Dec. 6th, 1858, he said :

"Slaves are recognized as property, and placed on an equal footing with all other property. Hence, *the owner of slaves*—the same as the owner of any other species of property—*has a right to remove to a Territory, and carry his property with him.*"

In his letter of acceptance, dated Washington, June 29, 1860, Mr. Douglas said :

"The judicial authority, as provided in the Constitution, must be sustained, and its decisions implicitly obeyed and faithfully executed."

The Supreme Court had given a decision, two points of which were :

"Every citizen has a right to take with him into the Territory any article of property which the Constitution of the United States recognizes as property.

"The Constitution of the United States *recognizes slaves as property, and pledges the Federal Government to protect it.*"

In his pamphlet reply to the review, by Attorney General Black, of the popular sovereignty article in *Harper's Magazine*, Mr. Douglas said :

"In that article, I demonstrated beyond the possibility of cavil or dispute, if slavery exists in the Territories by virtue of the Constitution, the conclusion is inevitable and irresistible that IT IS THE IMPERATIVE DUTY OF CONGRESS TO PASS ALL LAWS NECESSARY FOR ITS PROTECTION; that there is and can be no exception to the rule, that *a right guaranteed by the Constitution must be protected by law in all cases where legislation is essential to its enjoyment.*"

Now, then, the point of these explanations is, that according to the views of Mr. Douglas, and a fair exposition of the platform on which he is a candidate, slaves are

property under the Constitution; as such, they may be carried into any Territory of the United States, without regard to the will of the people; and when there, it is the imperative duty of Congress to pass all laws necessary for protecting the property in them.

Where is popular sovereignty, pure and simple? Taken from the people and committed to the sovereign will of the Supreme Court, which is committed against it.

What, then, is the practical distinction between the Breckinridge and the Douglas platforms? It seems to me that nobody but a willful partisan, who keeps his courage warm in the hope of an office, can find any resemblance to such a distinction.

Consider now the Republican platform and principle.

Abraham Lincoln, in his letter, accepting the nomination at Chicago, said:

"The declaration of principles and sentiments * * meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate or disregard it in any part."

The part to which I am inviting attention, declares the dogma that the Constitution of the United States carries slavery into the Territories, a dangerous political heresy.

What, then, is the antagonism of the platforms accepted by the gentlemen who are standard-bearers in this campaign? It lies in two propositions.

1st. That slavery may exist in the Territories by virtue of the Federal Constitution.

2d. That slavery can legitimately exist only under State laws.

There is a difference with a distinction, or a distinction with a difference, just which you please, gentlemen.

Am I not right? Have I not fortified my position, that by popular exposition of the Federal Constitution, the November election decides, on behalf of the Territories west of the Mississippi river, for or against what the Ordinance of 1787 declared for the North-West—that

slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crime, should be forever excluded therefrom ; and that religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education should forever be encouraged therein.

Imagine the North-West wilderness in 1787. Contemplate the great central valley to-day. Lines of railway make a net-work over it. They connect well cultivated farms, prosperous workshops and thriving villages with great inland commercial centres. Churches, colleges, schools, lyceums, newspapers, are common necessities which the whole people enjoy.

Turn from these communities, peaceable and prosperous, and contemplate the mother State which conceded to Congress the wilderness they have redeemed. Consider her laws; look at her society; ask for her manufactories; examine her school statistics; estimate her wealth, and take notice of its sources; remember the great opportunities of her history, and her geographical position; then decide whether, so far as your ballots have influence, free States or slave States shall give stars to our national flag.

—Shall honest labor and its perennial good, its benignant services, be peaceably permitted to bless new States, or shall domestic slavery, with its vices, its wrongs, its self-propagating outrages, be extended under the fostering care of the National Government?

Disguise it as partisan prejudice, sophistry, and selfishness may, that is the question. It cannot be evaded—it will not be compromised.

These are the words I would speak, could I address all the young voters of the nation.

Think, gentlemen, for yourselves, on this question, in view of the responsibilities of your ballots. Try it by history. Try all the platforms by it: try the records of

statesmen by it; test the sincerity and consistency of politicians by it; respect the exigencies of your social positions; appreciate the political rights which you inherited, and you will not hesitate to select as your choice for President the man who is worthy, because, in his entire career, from the time when he was a hired laborer on a farm, through all the vicissitudes of self-help, in private and in public life, and in his character to-day—which partisan bitterness dares not malign—he is a fair exponent of the American idea of manhood.

An administration such as he can direct, true to the interests of the whole country, just to the West, just to the East, just to the North, just to the South, faithful to the Constitution, having no engagements which give cause for hesitating subserviency at the behests of selfish factions, is competent to destroy the occupation of sectional agitators, and give the nation peace on the vexed questions, which, like a pestiferous taint, penetrating all the deeds of James Buchanan's administration, have rendered it odious to all parties.

There is an under-current of common sense and common justice in the Southern States which those who stimulate disturbances and declaim for disunion, on account of prefigured wrongs, do not represent. That current will flow in support of an honest administration by a Northern President. Healthful tokens of it now appear in Virginia, in Kentucky, in Maryland, and in Missouri.

With that current openly flowing for Freedom into the great tide which must set with a Republican President and Cabinet, there will be wonderful transformations of opinion respecting the propriety of “niggerism,” “sectionalism,” and other ugly names for Republicanism. There will also be such revolutions in local polities, such wholesale consigning of “aspiring patriots” to political Coventry as was never witnessed, except during the brief period “mysterious Sam” was a power at the polls.

The man, now attaining his majority, seeking a fair start in political life, who does not cast his ballot for Freedom, will have the melancholy satisfaction of an unpopular error, for which he can plead neither good purpose nor good company.

No man should join any movement simply because he thinks that movement will triumph. I ask young men to be Republicans in 1860, because, in view of their own interests, and the highest interests of all who are dear to them, it is right; yet it is not inappropriate to bid them take heed of the signs which give fair promise that the right will prevail. All of our Northern States will follow the hopeful example of Pennsylvania, Indiana and Ohio, if our young men are not misled.

That they spurn the influences which are employed to mislead them, Wide Awake organizations in all parts of the North in wholesome, energetic service, afford trustworthy assurance. To those whom my words reach, I would bear testimony that no element in this campaign is more significant. Your responsibility is as wide-spread and far-reaching as your organization is wide awake. Remember, I intreat you, that national politics become what local politics represent and encourage. Respecting character in your political, as you respect it in your social circle, relying on honest work for politics as you do for permanent success in business, your history will not be measured by the campaign of 1860.

I appeal to each one for faithful observance of the searching law which requires personal respect in whatever violence of political animosities as it does in whatever temptations of society or of business.

A significant illustration of the value of the American idea of government is offered in the fact, that among no other people as among the people of the United States, do young men control opinions and direct business. In our workshops, in our counting-houses, in our court-houses, in

halls of learning and in halls of legislation, young men are leaders. They hold to-day the destiny of the nation. Following the examples and obeying the counsels of Hamilton, and Madison, and Monroe, and other political leaders, who were young men when the Federal Constitution was adopted, having swept

“the prairies
As of old our Fathers swept the sea,
And made the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the Free,”

securing the peaceful triumphs which make Freedom national, they will be required so to administer State and National Governments, that morals and education, agriculture and manufactures, commerce, literature and the arts, may, in the widest degree and in the most beneficent manner, enlighten the people and beautify and enrich the land they inherit.

Let no one be indifferent to the responsibilities which open before him—let no one be ignorant of the political history of our country—let all read with thoughtful attention what political parties have been, and consider shrewdly what political parties ought to be.

The encouragement of the noblest statesmen of the past is yours; the fellowship and sympathy of those who worship the highest standards of morality, are with you. Then keep your armor on, let every lamp be well filled and well trimmed, let every foot be ready for accordant step, at the Commandant's order, until the principles, for which you marched to night, are so well settled in national policy that neither the reckless outcry of sectional distrust, nor the ingenious misrepresentations of disappointed ambition can disturb them.



OHIO'S PROSPERITY, SOCIAL AND MATERIAL; AN ARGUMENT AGAINST REBELLION, (APPLIED TO THE DUTY OF CITIZENS.

BY WILLIAM T. COGGESHALL, *Editor of the Springfield Republic.*

PUBLISHED BY THE STATE UNION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

"There is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists, in the economy and course of Nature, an indissoluble Union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity."

—GEORGE WASHINGTON.

It is an axiom approved by all statesmen, and enforced by all wise political teachers, that frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of our Government, is essential to the perpetuity of our Union, and the preservation of our liberties.

With eloquent pertinence does this primary truth attach itself to the present period of American history, when unparalleled discords imperil the dearest personal and the choicest public interests; and, therefore, it is the duty of every citizen of Ohio to understand and to accept the lessons written in the prosperity he enjoys, by virtue of the principles wrought into organic law, by the founders of the prime American State. Holding in mind this duty, it will be profitable to examine the characteristics of the Instrument for organization, which the wise forethought of the law-givers for the Territory of the Northwest provided—the first Ordinance, (1787,) adopted by the Congress of the American Union for the government of a Territory, out of which, States, to form an integral part of that Union, were expected to be organized.

The significance of the American idea as embodied in that instrument, for the establishment of associated governments—the promotion of happiness, and permanent, general prosperity—and for the security of social worthiness among a people, cannot fail to impress every unbiased thinker.

After providing a simple and effective system for the administration of public affairs and for the organization of States, the organic law of the Territory of the Northwest—

- Established freedom of conscience;
- Recognized the sacredness of personal liberty;
- Provided for security of private property;
- Declared it the duty of Government to foster schools and diffuse knowledge, because religion and morality are essential to good government;
- Forbade Slavery or involuntary servitude.
- Appropriated lands for public education and to sustain liberal learning, and to promote religion.

The most important of these principles were original in their application and purpose, and embody the true theory of American government—freedom, and general welfare—*unadulterated by compromise with temporary interests—unshackled by conditions imposed out of sinister motives.*

The pioneer colony, encouraged by the promise of freedom and prosperity, which a sound law, and a fruitful valley gave, was led by men who had made cheerful sacrifices in the war for Independence from colonial restraints and burdens, and were instructed by the discussions consequent upon opposition to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and incident to the opening of the earliest Congress, under it, in the clear intentions, and well

founded hopes of the authors of the enabling Act we are considering. Its requirements were therefore intelligently executed, and an example for industry and morality was set, on which the State of Ohio was organized.

The first Territorial Legislature assembled in the Northwest congratulated the people upon the provision made by the National Government for secular and religious instruction, and urged the practice of industry, frugality, temperance, and every moral virtue.

"Religion and morality," said these Pioneer Law Givers, "are necessary to all good government. Let us therefore inculcate the principles of humanity, benevolence; honesty and punctuality in dealing; sincerity, charity and all the social virtues."

When a Constitution had been adopted for the State of Ohio, it embodied the principles of right and justice, of morality and freedom—imposed the obligations for religion and education, the organic law of the Territory, out of which it emerged, had declared—and providing against unwarrantable searches and seizures, asserted the right of every citizen to speak or write, or print his thoughts on any subject, but holding him responsible for abuse of his freedom.

Advancing step by step, in moral and material power—enlarging intelligence, guided by general morality, demanding material improvements—they requiring increased revenue—increased revenue—the means of education, and its advancement providing for enlarging powers and opportunities,—all parts of legitimate development, consequent upon guiding principles, from which organic law forbade departure, when in States which rejected the most precious characteristics of that organic law, atrocious rebellion resisted rightful Federal authority, and threatened the integrity of the National Union, without detriment to a single arm of productive industry—without oppression or necessary deprivation in a single household, Ohio was able to advance three millions of dollars in aid of the General Government, and furnish 100,000 soldiers to fight for its just supremacy—having then, according to her latest census, 400,000 men able to bear arms, ready to meet whatever requisitions the exigencies of civil war might demand—her people not only contributing cheerfully their just proportion of the direct war debt, but through Soldiers' Aid Societies making most liberal contributions to relieve, encourage and bless her brave sons

who expose themselves to rebel bullets, and rebel atrocities.*

True life is told in thoughts and deeds; not in heart-beats. A Nation's just thoughts are in its laws, which protect private right, and promote public virtue, intelligence and charity.

—Public and liberal education, and resulting general intelligence;

—Independent religious culture in every community, and consequent adherence to fundamental principles of personal and public justice;

—These are the corner-stones of Ohio prosperity and Ohio loyalty.

Not less than every individual has every community—every State—every Nation an audience, real or imaginary, to which it addresses itself. The character of its deeds depends upon the auditory it selects; and the selection is governed by the principles on which its independent life is begun.

Science tells us that the ocean which rolls its mighty waves from fathomless depths to shallow pools on level shores, supports life adapted in organic characteristics to healthful existence, at varying depths from its surface. So on land, inflexible laws for animal and vegetable life determine native characteristics in tropical, in temperate and in polar latitudes. And to native laws in these great divisions of the earth's structure, the moral and political worlds contain clearly defined counterpart rules, governing man's moral and mental characteristics. Peace, Prosperity, Vice, Oppression, Barbarity, Rebellion, indicate to the political, and ethical student as clearly the essential qualities of social and political systems as to the naturalist the fruit of palms and pomegranates suggests tropical heat and luxuriance—the leaves of maples and beeches suggest summer and winter in a temperate clime, or lichens and mosses bring associations with polar dreariness, in a frigid atmosphere unirradiated with genial sunshine.

What then is the direct lesson for the future in the expressive history of Ohio—in the prosperity—labor-rewarding—hope inspiring, the dullest mind may witness?

Public rejoicings, general thankfulness—wide-spread household joy, are marred only, by questioning hopes, and heart chilling fears, on account of civil war, waged beyond our borders.

Why this war? Why its terrible perils? its untold scenes of suffering? to which Ohio mothers, wives and sisters have contributed

*See Note 1.

sons, husbands and brothers—who endure unaccustomed hardships—who suffer unusual privations—who fall on battle-fields—as one of her noblest sons said, when a rebel bullet pierced him: “Face the enemy and fall”—who die in hospitals praying for one fond look from home, or who return to their homes maimed, or slowly wasting with incurable camp diseases, or life-touching wounds. Why?

History answers—

—Because the National Government was organized in compromise with wrong;

—Because mercenary schemes acting through political power, acquired by that compromise, perpetuated and extended that wrong, contrary to the wishes and expectations of the authors of the Federal Constitution;

—Because Nullification was only conquered, not subjugated in 1832;

—Because the Nation consented in 1820 to renewed compromise with aggressions springing out of errors in the organic system;

—Because a proviso to check the growing power of these aggressions was rejected in 1848;

—Because in 1850 temporary peace was secured by new compromises, which exasperated the people of the States whose Representatives granted them—and encouraged the rapacity and defiance of the people of the States whose Representatives demanded them;

—Because Executive officers, empowered to harmonise the conflicting interests of antagonistic systems of industry, violated their trusts, in compromise with the behests of traitorous partisans who threatened Secession, and defied Coercion.

“There’s not a crime

But takes its proper change out still in crime
If once rung on the counter of this world.”

In comprehensive phraseology, and in plain historical truth, Rebellion, out of oppression’s interests, makes bloody the page of history today, because, never since the Ordinance of 1787 was adopted, has the Government, in national policy, been animated by the primary principles which that Instrument embodies, and which it applies to the establishment of States.

Disguise the obvious truth in whatever way selfish ambition, in reckless disregard of general welfare, may invent—in whatever pretext pride and love of luxury may ingeniously devise, this fact remains—Just in so far as Ohio owes her material prosperity, and the social and moral elevation of her citizens to principles, in her organic law, establishing forever the in-

lienable right of personal freedom, and the obligation of government to encourage education and promote moral culture, just in so far is Rebellion—its antecedent aggressive outrages and its consequent waste of blood and treasure—its atrocities and its barbarities—the legitimate effect of disregard, and contempt of those principles.*

Selfish ambition, and sensual indulgence, unilluminated by a decent respect for common morals, and common rights, are the same in America, that they are in Africa, and have the same personal and political effect, though their objects may be baser, and their means lower. They make wicked, unscrupulous, and tyrannical the American politician, just as they make sensual and contemptible, the Ethiopian savage, who, in his passion for what is sweet, will snatch a morsel of sugar from the ground, and eat a handful of dirt with it, rather than run the risk of losing the delicacy, by endeavoring to separate it from the filth in which he finds it.

If History is Philosophy, teaching by example, its lesson is clear to the citizens of Ohio, and as imperative as it is clear.

Communities are congregations of individuals. States are formed by the consolidation of communities, and, in the beneficent system of American Government, the State embodies the will and character of its citizens; the will and character of States direct the Nation.

Out of conquest over traitors in council, and over rebels in arms, must come a new era in the history of American Government.

That conquest is sure and not remote. In hope and determination for it, Fellow Citizens, apply the instructions which our review of fundamental law, and our knowledge of National peril makes plain.

Instructed by Constitutional Compromises, to which the faith of the Nation was unfortunately pledged, but from which Rebellion absolved it, with the unhesitating certainty in which a true Union soldier strikes down a rebel who stands before him with fixed bayonet, Citizens who respect the past—who would purify the present for the future, are required to strike down

- Whatever abuses private rights;
- Whatever disturbs public morals;
- Whatever violates sacredness of individual opinion;
- Whatever imperils personal freedom;
- Whatever impedes the spread of public education;

*See Note 2.

—Whatever retarded the progress of religious culture.

If the principles which guided the pioneer colony of the Northwest, fresh from the perils and teachings of the Revolutionary war, had any virtue for the future of the States that have been organized in that Territory—those principles have virtue now as guiding powers in the settlements of vexed questions, growing out of the present crisis, for the future peace, and permanent prosperity of the Nation. They are opposed to temporary, relative, and comparative expedients. They are abstract and final. Disregard cannot supersede them. Wicked departure cannot supersede them. In the moral and political world, their vitality is as indestructible as that of certain seeds which no cold, the chemist can discover or produce, will deprive of their germinating power. By whatever name, whatever evades or belies them is known, in that name let it be exposed. The subtlest political heresies have a nomenclature which is ingeniously devised to deceive and mislead. That was a shrewd philosopher as well as a satirist who said:

—“Sin has many tools, but a lie is the handle which fits them all.”

“Thought and theory,” said the poet Wordsworth, “must precede all action that moves to salutary purposes; yet action is nobler in itself than either thought or theory.”

Hope and indignation are the chief mental emotions of the hour, among true American citizens, but serious thought for resolute action must succeed them, and the responsibility of that thought and that action rests directly upon the individuals of our communities, just as responsibility for the execution of a military order rests upon every soldier to whom it is given.

Neglect of preparation to meet vexed questions, which are inevitable, is as likely to prove disastrous to a political community, as want of drill and discipline, in a column of soldiers, is to disturb the plans of a battlefield.

Stand up, honest patriot, well meaning intelligent citizen! Let the light of history shine on you. Take the lamp of experience in your hand. By it look into the future.

Rebellion crushed, and violent agitation will disturb the body politic. Great truths will array themselves against compromise and expediency. What Emerson calls “spurious prudence—making the senses final—the god of sots and cowards—the subject of all comedy—na-

ture’s joke, and therefore literature’s,” will have many industrious and devoted advocates, who will dispute vigorously with all who accept, and act upon, the pertinent truth Mrs. Jameson has happily expressed, “that the moment one begins to solder right and wrong together, one’s conscience becomes like plated goods.”

On which side shall the young men, into whose hands final settlement will fall, prepare to take up whatever arms the exigencies of the service may require?

The strategy of compromise will soon enlist them in the ranks of partizan and predatory guerillas, or take them prisoners and put them upon parole, not to carry arms during the war, if they go into the strifes and turmoils and temptations of business life, under the conviction that good men have no legitimate place in primary political councils, and that disregard of political duty is an evidence of conscientious scruples, if not of good taste.

The standard of fundamental polity must float high above the bunting of temporary polity in this epoch of American annals.

In times past, he was a patriot who inculcated indignant scorn of that imbecile citizenship which affects fear of taint in political action, because in political action, as every man’s observation may teach him, lies peace, prosperity and happiness among American people. Out of it, what astonishes the civilized world today? Secession, Rebellion—civil war, its untold horrors and its unnamed burdens.

In the present juncture of public interests, scorn of the idealist, whose theories take his thought and action above the common duties of citizenship, is not less imperative than contempt for the man whose counsels in society, or whose action in the State, is governed by the cost, to him, or to constituents, in gold, of what is required for rightful authority, and just Federal supremacy, when we compare his filthy lucre with the generous life yonder mother, yonder wife, or yonder sister contributed cheerfully, in aid of her Country—in memory of which sombre drapery now testifies of heroic sacrifice.

National peril makes as clear the obligation to vote right, as to volunteer right, and preparation for the peaceful duty can no more be delegated, than can the drill of the camp, by him who must bear arms in the field.

“Genuine government
Is but the expression of a nation, good
Or less good—even as all society,
However unequal, monstrous, crazed and
cursed,
Is but the expression of men’s single lives,
The loud sum of the silent units.” *

Vain our common schools—vain our colleges

* Mrs. Browning.

—vain our regular attendance upon stated preaching—vain the daily newspaper—vain our right of suffrage, if the mental culture we acquire—the moral sense we cultivate—the political news we require, the religious sentiment we enjoy be not applied to, and directed in, the affairs, which out of National character, concern general welfare, and which shut up peremptorily, or open generously, wide avenues to happiness, and worthiness in business, in social and in religious circles.

The American people may grasp in this pivotal year, 1863, what, compared in all history, may be called, with new significance for the time honored epithet, a *glorious* opportunity. They may become pioneers for the true, the majestic development of national power, honor and prosperity, back to whom, in a quick-coming future, blessed men, will look with reverent hearts, as we look to-day, to those noble men, who laid broad and deep the foundations of the material prosperity, and of the social opportunity on which we are competent to be useful as citizens, or as soldiers.

Each man, and each woman must take part in the history of the hour, which *can* be guiding philosophy, teaching by example, for virtue, intelligence and public weal, through a hundred generations.

Now, Fellow citizens, what is the current political application of the facts I have cited, and the principles I have presented for your thoughtful consideration. Antagonistic to their wishes and purposes, a heated canvass, against candidates and platforms acceptable to Rebels, is forced upon the supporters of legitimate Government. The issues of that canvass are plain and positive. The fortunes of individual men, are of small moment, compared with the principles against which Rebellion has declared itself, but as chosen representatives of principles—as standard bearers—the fortunes of men are closely identified with principles. Candidates representing antagonistic policy in the conduct of National affairs are before the voters of Ohio.

For the perpetuity of the privileges and guarantees, out of which have grown the political blessings and opportunities citizens of Ohio most highly prize, the importance of the October elections cannot be overestimated.

The people will decide through them what are their deliberate convictions and their settled resolutions respecting the policy of the Federal Administration; that policy involving

righteous war or wicked peace; subjugation of Rebellion; or subjugation of loyalty; demolition of the American Nation, or re-establishment of its legitimate power and authority. It is therefore important that every man who has a vote, should cast it in the full consciousness of what it expresses.

—In defiance of history, National, State and Local; in contemptuous indifference to Legislative and Congressional records, so called “Democratic” leaders would mislead the ignorant and prejudiced, under the pretence that the great body of our citizens who have done most to contribute men and money for the war, are responsible for secession;

—Making false issues upon the question of slavery, and misrepresenting its relations to the rebellion, they seek for selfish, partisan ends, regardless of permanent consequences, to acquire votes by stimulating and directing animosities between the white and the black race, on incidental questions;

—Through paltry interests of the hour, they would betray momentous interests for the future, in order that opportunity might be given them to reorganize a Party in which the whole company of rebel office holders and rebel generals took their rank as traitors—a Party which held National power when Secession and Rebellion were threatened, and which not only declined to arrest them, but offered them precious opportunities for fulfilment.

The people at the ballot box decide whether that Party—foster father, at least of rebellion and now its direct apologist, should be consigned to dissolution, or whether it shall be permitted to compromise all the blood and treasure shed on the battle fields of 1861 and 1862, to the advantage of the infernal interests, which, by aggressive outrages required the sacrifice of that blood and that treasure;—in other words, whether audacious and unjustifiable rebellion shall be crushed, and legitimate authority restored, with wholesome power, in rebellious States—or whether the interests which impelled rebellion shall hold the power to continue war at their pleasure, and to dictate the terms of peace, against Freedom—against the Nation—on behalf of a Slaveholding Oligarchy. Disguise it as the partisan may—dodge it with whatever dexterity the demagogue can command, that is the issue of the impending contest to be decided by Ballot.

Let no man who regards virtue, intelligence and justice, be driven by jeers, misled by false-

hood, blinded by prejudice, or deceived by narrow selfishness, so that while his fellow citizens—friends, brothers, stand on the battle field with bullets in their muskets, he can cast a ballot.

—Against the purpose which made them soldiers;

—Against the measures which are required to sustain them in the field

—Against the National policy necessary to bring defeat and punishment upon the traitors whose atrocious wickedness makes martial service by patriots needful.

Informed as to the past; attentive as to the present; faithful as to the future, and every man's duty to himself, to his Country, and to his God is clear before him.

The woodsmen of the pioneer period in the

West, had shrewd regard for the land marks by which they made their perilous journeys from one settlement, or from blockhouse to another. Their personal safety, and the protection of their families, lay in the wise appropriation of each day's experience—of every hour's observation. Shall their descendants shut their eyes upon the plain finger-boards in history which indicate the paths along which moral, social, and material advancement are found; and which point the way those frequent who secede from justice, and rebel against right?

By all we see and enjoy—by all the interests and memories clustering around our history as a Nation, as a Commonwealth, as a Community, sacred in our hearts, and instructive to our intellects, God forbid.

NOTES.

Note No. 1.—SIXTY YEARS OF OHIO.

Ohio became one of the United States of North America, sixty years ago with less than 60,000 inhabitants. Her first Constitution was adopted at Chillicothe, on the 19th day of November, in the year 1802.

There were then a few settlements along her navigable rivers, and upon the borders of Lake Erie, but they were separated by wildernesses, which were broken only by war-paths, hunter's camps or Indian towns. Her fertile soil, though thick set with heavy timber, attracted intelligent industry, and in eight years her population increased nearly four fold.

In 1810 the number of her inhabitants was 230,760. Then preparations adequate to the development of her varied resources were not begun, but in another decenary her population more than doubled. The census of 1820 showed that she had nearly one million inhabitants (937,679)—twenty times the number, with which in 1802 she became a State.

At the end of the third decennial period in the history of Ohio (1832) liberal provision had been made for public schools—road enterprises had been made wisely encouraged—increasing agricultural, mineral and mechanical developments had required canal communications, which were from that time vigorously extended, until the great river on the Southern border of the State was united at three points, with the Lake on the North; institutions for liberal learning and for benevolent purposes had been established, and general principles of polity which are recognized in subsequent legislation had been definitely agreed upon.

The entire value of the property of Ohio was then reported at \$74 $\frac{1}{4}$ millions (\$74,243,032) and the total amount of taxation levied upon

that property was about three quarters of a million (\$685,909) of dollars.

At the close of the sixth decennial period, in the history of Ohio, its population was more than twice as great as it was in 1830, and more than forty times as numerous as when its first Constitution was adopted—(2,243,739:—1860.) In 1802, in point of population, Ohio was the eighteenth State of the Union—in 1840 it was the third. In extent of territory it ranks as the twenty-first State, and in number of inhabitants to the square mile, as the eighth. The taxable property returned to the Auditor of State, in 1861 was valued at eight hundred and ninety-two and a half millions of dollars (\$892,570,438,) and the total amount assessed upon it for local and general taxation was (\$11,071,127) a little over eleven millions of dollars.

The aggregate wealth of the State in 1802 may be fairly stated at forty millions. In 1840 it was three fold that sum—in 1820 it was three fold what it was in 1840, and in 1860 it was double what it was ten years previous. The annual increment of wealth from 1802 to 1840 was two millions of dollars, but from 1840 to 1850 it was thirty millions, and from 1850 to 1860 it was sixty-four millions, and, taking all circumstances into fair consideration, it may now be stated that the present value of property in Ohio is twenty-five fold as great as when territorial government over it ceased.

The aggregate value of industry, not agricultural, increased from 1840 to 1850 one hundred per cent. and from 1850 to 1860 ninety per cent. The total increase in twenty years was four fold. In 1860 Ohio produced bread-stuffs enough for four times her own population, and while she expended in 1861 more than three-fourths of a million of dollars (\$787,390)

for the support of the State Government, including the expenses of benevolent and criminal institutions, she disbursed nearly twice that sum, or about one and one-fourth millions of dollars (\$1,205,107) for the support of common schools.

The surface of Ohio presents now an admirable picture of well rewarded industrial enterprise. Lines of transit, ample for all the purposes of increased travel and commerce, are permanently established. On a land surface of 40,000 square miles there is one mile of railroad for every thirteen of those miles, and one and a half miles of turnpike and common road for each square mile of surface.

These transit lines extend in their humbler forms to every farm house, and, in their complicated relations, connect our village markets with the great depots east, west, and south. Nine-tenths of all the land of Ohio is subservient to the Agriculturist, and not less than one-twelfth of all the people are land owners, and a large proportion of the residue are producing laborers. With a church for every four hundred and forty-six persons, and school houses for more than one fourth (27 per cent.) of the population, and education not only primary but comparatively liberal, free for every child, consequent upon religious culture and general intelligence, improving agricultural processes, enlarging mechanical facilities, widening locomotive conveniences, elevating household comfort, may be commanded by the humblest industry.

Cherishing reverently the memory of the noble men who laid broad and deep the foundations of the commonwealth of Ohio, may her citizens bear always practically in mind, the potent fact, that out of the instrument, adopted by the Congress of the United States for the organization of the prime Territory of the Union—(the Ordinance of 1787,)—were taken, those principles, inwrought by means of organic law, into all her prosperity, her power and her happiness, which forbid involuntary servitude, except for crime—which guarantee private rights and personal liberty, and which provide for schools and the means of instruction, because religion and morality are essential to good government.—*Springfield Republic*, Nov. 19th, 1862.

Note No. 2.—SLAVERY FOR LIBERTY.

This point, that the primary principles of the Government of Ohio are radically antagonistic to the policies upon which Slave States are organized, is clearly set forth in the following extracts from leading representatives of Southern opinion:

"We have got to hating every thing with the prefix **FREE**, from free negroes down and up through the whole catalogue—**FREE** farms, **FREE** labor, **FREE** society, **FREE** will, **FREE** thinking, **FREE** children and **FREE** schools—all belonging to the same brood of *damnable isms*. But the worst of all these abominations is the modern system of **FREE SCHOOLS**. The New England system of free schools has been the cause and prolific source of the infidelities and

treasons that have turned her cities into Sodoms and Gomorrahs and her land into the common nestling places of howling Bedlamites. We abominate the system because schools are free."—*South Side (Va.) Democrat*, 1856.

"Every school and college in the South should teach that *Slave Society is the common, natural, rightful and normal state of society*. Any doctrine short of this, contains abolition in the germ; for if it be not the rightful and natural form of society, it cannot last, and we should prepare for its gradual but ultimate abolition. *They should also teach that no other form of society is, in the general, right or expedient*.—*Richmond Enquirer*, Aug. 26th, 1856.

"The South maintains that Slavery is *right, natural and necessary, and does not depend upon difference of COMPLEXION*. The laws of the Slave States justify the holding of **WHITE MEN** in *bondage*.—*Richmond (Va.) Enquirer*, 1856.

"*Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether WHITE or black*. The great evil of the Northern free society is, that it is burdened with a servile class of *Mechanics and Laborers*, unfit for self government, and yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens. Master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of a parent and child, and the Northern States will have yet to introduce it. Their theory of free government is a delusion.

"The truth is, that all men are not born equally free and independent, but equally without freedom and without independence"—*Charleston Standard*, 1856.

"We are the most aristocratic people in the world. Pride of caste, and color, and privilege, makes every white man an aristocrat in feeling. Aristocracy is the only safeguard of liberty, the only power watchful and strong enough to exclude monarchical despotism. At the North, the progress and tendency of opinion is to pure Democracy, less government, anarchy, and agrarianism. Military despotism is far preferable to Northern Democracy, agrarianism, and free love.—*Charleston Mercury*, 1861.

"Those pestilent and pernicious dogmas—'the greatest good of the greatest number'—'the majority shall rule'—are, in their practical application, the frightful source of disorders never to be quieted—philosophies the most false, and passions the most wild, destructive and ungovernable.—*J. Quitman Moore, of Mississippi, De Bow's Review*, 1861.

That benign institution of Slavery, which it is now the pride and glory of the South to ascribe to the conception of Divinity, and which this war has proved to be, next to the undaunted patriotism of her sons, the great element of power in the Confederacy, will prove, in preventing too heavy influx from foreign shores of that class of population devoted to menial pursuits, another, bulwark against the encroachment of

those tendencies to Democracy which have been the Pandora's box of disintegration and ruin to all Republics.—*Richmond Literary Mess.*, 1861.

"Free Society! we sicken of the name. What is it but a conglomeration of GREASY MECHANICS, FILTHY OPERATIVES, SMALL FISTED FARMERS and moon-struck THEORISTS? All the Northern and especially the New England States are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevailing class one meets with is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery; and yet who are hardly fit for association with a Southern gentleman's body servant.—*Muscogee (Ala.) Herald*, 1856.

"Nature has made the weak in mind or body slaves. * * * * The wise and virtuous, the brave, the strong in mind and body are born to command. * * * * Men are not born entitled to equal rights. It would be far nearer the truth to say that some were born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them—and the riding does them good. They need the whip, the reins, the spur. * * * * Life and liberty are not inalienable. * * * * The Declaration of Independence is exuberantly false and fallacious."—*Richmond (Va.) Enquirer*, 1856.

"This stone—slavery—which was rejected by the first builders, is become the chief corner in our new edifice."—*Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederate States, March 21st, 1861.*

After two years of war have consolidated the opinion of the Slave States, we read in the *Richmond Examiner*: "The establishment of the Confederacy is verily a distinct reaction against the whole course of the mistaken civilization of the age. For 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' we have deliberately substituted 'Slavery, Subordination and Government.'"

ORIGIN OF SECESSION.

The following statements of speakers in the South Carolina Secession Convention are in point:

"**MR. PARKER.** Mr. President, it appears to me, with great deference to the opinions that have been expressed, that the public mind is fully made up to the great occasion that now awaits us. It is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us, but it has been gradually culminating for a long series of years, until at last it has come to that point when we may say the matter is entirely right."

"**MR. INGLIS.** Mr. President, if there is any gentleman present who wishes to debate this matter, of course this body will hear him; but as to delay for the purpose of a discussion, I for one am opposed to it. As my friend (Mr. Parker) has said, most of us have had the matter under consideration for the last twenty years, and I presume we have by this time arrived at a decision upon the subject."

"**MR. KEITT.** Sir, we are performing a great

act, which involves not only the stirring present, but embraces the whole great force of ages to come. I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life."

MR. RHETT. The secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day. It is not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It has been a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years. The election of Lincoln and Hamlin was the last straw on the back of the camel. But was not the only one. The back was nearly broken before."

FREE LABOR IN VIRGINIA.

The *New York Tribune* of Saturday Aug. 15, 1863, contained the following suggestive narrative:

"A prominent Democrat who lives and does business in our City, was induced some years since, to buy an estate in Eastern Virginia reputed rich in gold. He employed a foreman to develop it, hired twenty or thirty of the Poor Whites residing upon or adjacent to it to assist as laborers, and came here to attend to other business. But a few weeks had elapsed when he received a dispatch from his foreman, urging him to hurry back to Louisa County and help the said foreman out of trouble. He promptly obeyed, and, soon after reaching his estate, was waited upon by three gentlemen, who proclaimed themselves a Committee from the neighboring proprietors, appointed to notify him that he must not employ white labor on his estate, but must hire or buy slaves. He ventured to remonstrate—urged that he had imported no laborers into Virginia—that his men were all natives of the State and fixed residents of the vicinage, &c., but was cut short by the spokesman, (now the Rebel General Jenkins,) with a curt reminder that they had not proposed to argue the point—that it was not the policy of Virginia to encourage white labor where slaves were to be had—and that they only desired to know whether he proposed to comply with their demand or take the consequences of refusal. Here one of the white laborers—a respectable, worthy citizen, over fifty years old, who happened to be present or passing—ventured to interpose the query: 'But what are we to do to support our families?'—'Don't you know enough to hold your tongue?' responded the lion of Chivalry, with such a look as he might have bestowed on a toad who had undertaken to lecture him on trigonometry. The Poor White was cowed into abject silence; the New Yorker said that he had no choice, so he submitted with the best possible grace, dismissed his White Virginians to their sorry huts and ragged, unschooled children, and proceeded to hire the negroes of his domineering neighbors as he needs must."

"He was paying the Whites eighty cents in cash per day; they told him they would gladly work for sixty cents rather than be thrown off; but, though he wanted their work and they wanted his money, they were all under the yoke of an iron despotism, and had to succumb."



